7/28/70

TV Today

Outspoken Russians Risk Ire of Soviets to Discuss Dissent

BY JOHN WALKER

Three Russian intellectuals who know the dangers of dissent in the Soviet Union will speak their pieces tonight in "Voices from the Russian Underground," a one-hour CBS News special, at 9 o'clock.

CBS correspondent William Cole, who was expelled from Russia last month for "activities incompatible with the status of a foreign journalist," filmed and recorded the interviews with Andre Amalrik, author of "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?"; Vladimir Bukovsky, a writer; and Pyotr Yakir, a historian.

Producer Irv Drasnin said the filmed interviews, which Cole smuggled out of Russia before his expulsion, provide a "moving" account of what intellectuals face in a country where suppression is commonplace.

William Cole

"These are unbelievably courageous men," Drasnin said. "They say the kinds of things that people usually say in exile where there is safety. But they are still in the country, and they want to be there. They think they can effect change."

Amalrik is now in prison, and the other two "fully expect to be picked up soon," Drasnin said. "They wanted to get their message out, and they think the government may be more lenient if they are well known. But they have no illusions."

The hour also includes a taped statement by Soviet poet Aleksandr Ginzburg, who recorded his thoughts in a Russian prison. Cole received the tape from friends and carried it with him when he left Moscow.

Cole was known for his association with unofficial Soviet citizens. Altho he is not a professional cameraman, he filmed the interviews himself because reporters need government permission in Russia before they can film the news.

"He was just trying to function as a newsman in the Soviet Union, which is difficult," Drasnin said. "Obviously he couldn't ask permission to interview these men, but he met them socially and pursued the story."

Cole appears with CBS newsman Harry Reasoner to tell how he filmed the interviews without official sanction and how he got the film out of Russia.

Reasoner ends the program by discussing dissent in the Soviet Union with Patricia Blake, authority on Russian literature, and Abraham Brumberg, author of "In Quest of Justice; Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union Today."

The new television season promises to be the shortest ever, because of inflation, rising costs and the loss of cigaret advertising.

Associated Press reports that the average series will have only 24 shows, which means the season will run out sometime in March. The networks may extend the season by padding the

Jim Brolin [left] and Robert Young on the run in tonight's episo
Welby, M.D.

TV Hour by Hou

Changes since your TV Week Magazine was printed

At 3:30 p. m.—David Frost's guests: Frank Sin
Vernon, Dana Valery, author Stephen Viz
John Weitz and Teddy Kollek, mayor o
channel 5.

At 10:30 p. m.—Tonight Show. Johnny Carso
Trevino, Zsa Zsa Gabor, Helen Reddy,
and Alan King, on channel 5.

SPORTS ON THE AIR

TELEVISION

:25 p. m.—9—Baseball. Cubs vs. Houston Astros in Wrig-, Field.

:00 p. m. — 32 — Baseball. White Sox vs. Orioles in Baltimore.

RADIO AM

:25 p. m.—WGN—Baseball. Cubs vs. Astros.

7:00 p. m.—WMAQ—Baseball. White Sox vs. Orioles.

CHICAGO TELEVISION CHANNELS

10:30—Love of Life	2
Hollywood Squares	5
That Girl [R]	7
Jim Conway	9
11 a. m.	
11:00—Where the Heart Is	2
Jeopardy	5
Best of Everything	7
11:25—News	2
Paul Harvey Comments	32
11:30—Search for Tomorrow	2
Who, What or Where Game	5
A World Apart	7
Debbie Drake	32
11:48—WGN Editorial	9
11:50—Fashions in Sewing	9
11:55—News	5

4:15—Merlin t	
4:30—To Tell	
Garfield Goos	
Misterogers'	
Hey, Colonel	
5 p	
5:00—News—	
News—Jim F	
News—John	
News—Jack	
What's New?	
Spanish New	
5:10—Feature	
5:25—Job Ope	
5:28—WGN Ed	
5:30—News—F	
Flintstones [R	
TV College	

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 29, 1970

ings From Gertrude Stein

C.B.S. Has Russians

Three articulate Soviet dissidents brought their message of opposition to their government into American homes last night as the Columbia Broadcasting System televised an hour-long special report titled "Voices From the Russian Underground."

Although the views of the Russians, who are among the better known representatives of the apparently small movement of dissent in the Soviet Union, had already been widely publicized in the Western press, their appearance on the home screen in interviews with William Cole, a C.B.S. correspondent, provided the program with an unusual air of immediacy.

Mr. Cole, bureau chief for C.B.S. News in Moscow, was expelled four weeks ago for what were officially described as "activities incompatible with his status as a journalist." Asked by Harry Reasoner, program moderator, whether the expulsion could have been related to the interviews, Mr. Cole replied:

"I think it did."

The three men interviewed by Mr. Cole were Pyotr Yakir, 48-year-old son of a general executed by Stalin in the purges; Andrei Amalrik, 31, author of "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?" published by Harper & Row in March, and Vladimir Bukovsky, 27, who was released in January after serving a three-year term for organizing a public protest.

The dissenters presented their case for a more liberal Communist system in the Soviet Union in a calm, literate manner, aware of the risks they were running in seeking out publicity abroad. Mr. Amalrik has been arrested since the filming of the interviews.

The program included a brief taped voice message, reportedly smuggled out of a prison camp, in which Aleksandr Ginzburg, a dissident serving a five-year term, said 16 fellow inmates had died "for lack of medical aid." C.B.S. said that Soviet representatives here declined an invitation to comment on the interviews.

THEODORE SHABAD.

3 Soviet Dissenters Get a Hearing

Christian Science Monitor
7/31/70

7/31/70

CBS's Russia: Heroic risk for human rights

By Diana Loercher

It would seem a fairly safe assumption that the risk and difficulty involved in gathering the material for CBS's "Voices from the Russian Underground," presented Tuesday evening, are virtually unmatched in television history. The four Russians who agreed, and were actually eager, to record their protests against Soviet repression of basic freedoms are not "revolutionaries," but they are nevertheless in serious danger of suffering reprisals from the government —one was already in a concentration camp when his message was tape-recorded, and another has recently been imprisoned in an obscure town.

CBS newsman William Cole, former Moscow correspondent until his recent expulsion for unstated but obvious reasons, shot the three films and was responsible for smuggling them and the tape-recording out of the country. While talking with Harry Reasoner, Mr. Cole hastened to raise the question which was surely paramount in the minds of many viewers: Why were these men willing to undergo such critical personal risks to disseminate their opinions?

The reasons were movingly revealed in the testimony of the four men. The first, historian Pyotr Yakir, nontitular head of the democratic movement in the Soviet Union, stressed the importance of publicizing every political arrest and trial in order to awaken both the Russian people and the world to the injustices perpetrated by the totalitarian regime.

Andre Amalrik, also a historian and author of the book "Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?" appeared with his silently attentive wife in perhaps the most distressing interview, for it is he who has been imprisoned since these films were made. Mr. Amalrik explained that his motives in writing the book and appearing in this film, were to inform the outside world that the Soviet Union has *not* liberalized but rather has lapsed into a kind of "senility," as evidenced by increasing loss of control over its citizens.

Alive to fight

Vladimir Bukovsky, a 27-year-old writer who has already spent six years in an insane asylum, described with remarkable objectivity and calm the conditions in the asylums, and the punishments inflicted upon inmates immured for political reasons. Mr. Bukovsky stated that he expected to be arrested again, but that he did not lose hope because "the fact that I'm still alive shows it's possible to fight and necessary to fight."

The anguished, desperate recorded statement of the poet Aleksandr Ginzburg from the prison camp in which 16 friends have perished culminated the spirit of unquenchable defiance and heroism found in these dissidents.

The final commentary by two authorities on Russia, Patricia Blake and Abraham Brumberg, brought out the crucial fact that the protesters' strongest bargaining point is that the Soviet constitution includes the traditional civil liberties. It is for this reason that dissidents are arrested on trumped up charges or committed to asylums, for they are not guilty of any legal infraction.

Though the program's concentration was on the Soviet Union, a warning could be drawn for the United States, where the freedoms for which these men have assumed heroic risks are often taken for granted. When Mr. Bukovsky told how some political dissenters are designated by the government as insane, one couldn't help thinking of reckless charges of irrationality hurled by some Americans at those with whom they disagree.

This was an exceptionally daring and inspiring program, and it can only be hoped that, as the program suggested, these men will receive the extensive sympathetic publicity they deserve to promote their causes and require to protect their lives.

Russia's Underground Speaks

IN A RARE instance of audible and visible dissent from the Soviet Union, four Russians told Americans Tuesday night what can happen to a man who speaks out against the state in the U.S.S.R.

Three of them were seen and heard on WTOP-TV and the CBS network in interviews filmed by CBS News correspondent William Cole, who was expelled from the Soviet Union shortly after he made them, "perhaps coincidentally." The fourth man spoke by tape from a labor camp in the far north of Russia.

The three seen on television were Pyotr Yakir, 48, who has spent 13 years in concentration camps as "the nontitular head of the democratic movement" in Russia; Andre Amalrik, 31, the historian whose harassments were described last year by Anatole Shub, now Paris correspondent for The Washington Post, in his celebrated series "Russia Turns the Clock Back," and Vladimir Bukovsky, who has spent six of his 27 years in insane asylums, prisons and concentration camps, for poetry readings and once for possession of Milovan Djilas' book "The New Class."

Amalrik was arrested by the KGB a few weeks ago and is awaiting trial. Cole believes that Yakir and Bukovsky are "in serious trouble"; that sooner or later they will be picked up and sent back to mental hospitals or concentration camps. Yet all three, he says, insisted on filming the interviews.

The man who spoke from a labor camp by tape is Alexander Ginzburg, the poet who was imprisoned in 1967 for protesting the trials of other writers. It was not explained how Cole got the tape, but he said the voice was identified by Moscow friends of Ginzburg.

The following are excerpts from the interviews and the Ginzburg tape:

PYOTR YAKIR

THE MOST important turning point in the way people are thinking was when Daniel and Sinyavsky were arrested. Many educated people thought Daniel and Sinyavsky had done wrong by sending their writings abroad, and following their trial and after Samizdat — Samizdat refers to the system by which people simply reproduce and pass from hand to hand various writings — published the first speeches of Daniel and Sinyavsky, there came about a striking change, because both Sinyavsky and Daniel spoke about what they thought.

They had written down what they pared with Stalinism. Under Stalin, there was always an iron curtain, and no one knew what was going on here. Millions of people were destroyed and nobody knew about it. Now we're trying to publicize every arrest, every dismissal. This we consider our main function.

Here is what I think. We are all being arrested — those who took part in the democratic movement — but that's not the point. We are apparently being arrested because it doesn't suit the authorities to have people about who criticize them. But there's no going back. If we're not here, there'll be others; there are already many of us, many young people, and no independent thinking people in the Soviet Union will go back to what used to be. They'll beat us and they'll kill us. All the same, people will go on thinking differently.

ANDRE AMALRIK

COLE: Mr. Amalrik, why did you decide to write this book called, "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?"

AMALRIK: I think there were three main reasons why I decided to write the book and try to get it published. The first was my concern for the fate of my country. It was, alas, some years ago that I started to be concerned at

This doesn't happen because the regime takes a liberal view of such things or deliberately permits it, but simply because the regime can't do anything about this problem, mainly because there's been an extraordinary increase in the number of people with education, and in the importance of the role played by educated people in modern society, and this intelligentsia will no longer be satisfied with the miserable official writings which are offered.

COLE: What do ordinary people think of this regime?

AMALRIK: I have had a lot to do with factory workers and farm workers, and it seems to me that they haven't really begun to think over the nature of this system at all; it seems to them it's always been like this and it always will be. But at the same time, there's evidence of very deep dissatisfaction with particular aspects of the regime, and this can assume the most varied forms.

Some are dissatisfied because the receive extremely little money by comparison with others, so they don't have enough to live on. Others are dissatisfied because they can't buy anything for the relatively high wages they earn. The farm workers are dissatisfied with their lack of civil rights, in that they cannot leave the villages.

very bad for us, but we are at least able to eat potatoes every day, and sometimes they bring us some kerosene. But how on earth do people live in the capitalist countries? There's probably nothing at all to eat there."

COLE: Is it true that opponents of the regime here are put into mental hospitals to get rid of them?

AMALRIK: Yes, it's true. I think it's the most disgusting thing that this regime does. At the same time, it seems to me this is a clear indication of the complete ideological capitulation of the regime in the face of its opponents, if the regime can't find anything else to do with them but to declare them to be out of their minds.

I am very well acquainted with a number of people who have been put into psychiatric hospitals and certified as being not responsible for their actions. There's Gen. Gregorenko, then there's Ivan Yakhimovich. The same fate now threatens Natalia Gorbanyevskaya. And I want to say that these are perfectly normal, clear-thinking people, and they have to live there among genuinely deranged people, and for an utterly undefined period, since the period of detention in a psychiatric hospital is not laid down in the sentence of the court.

But I consider that no system of rule by force can exist without people who are ready to submit to that rule. And if we don't want the rule of force to prevail, we must all fight against it, and not just say the regime is bad, that we have to suffer and so forth. It is a bad system, but that doesn't absolve us of blame for it's being bad.

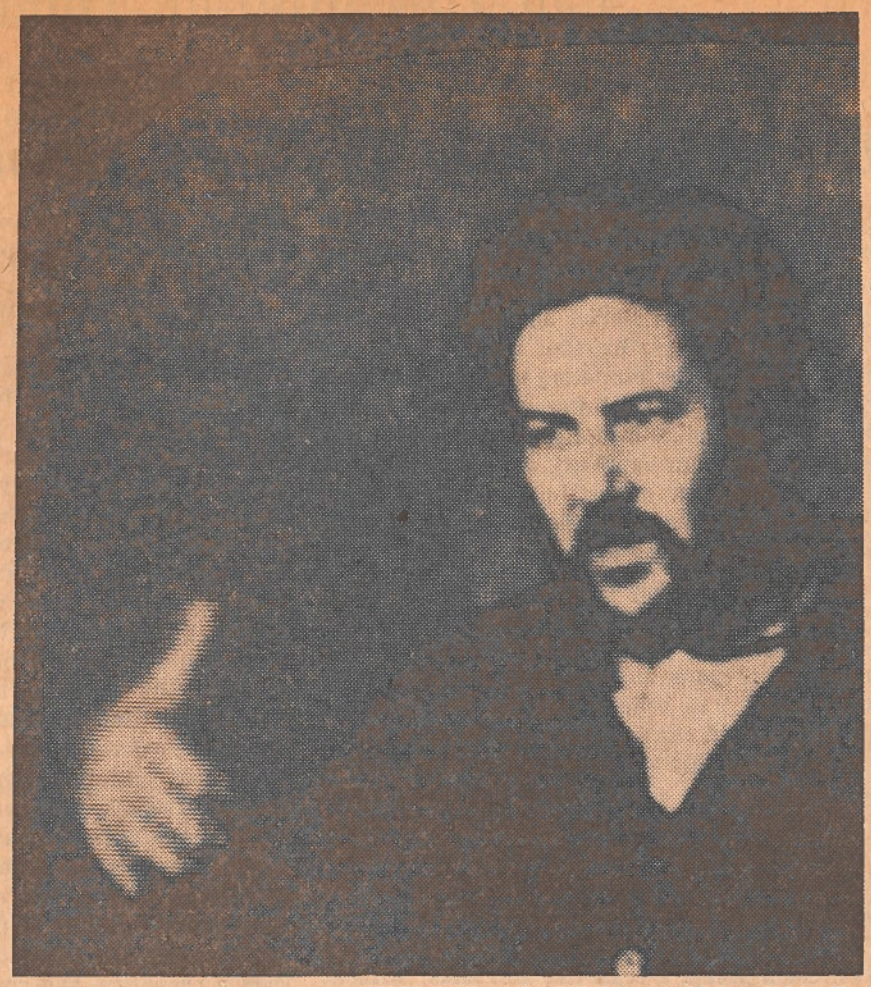
COLE: You seem rather dissatisfied. Would you like to leave the Soviet Union?

AMALRIK: I'm dissatisfied with this political system, but this is the country in which I was born, and I hope that in due course everything will change. No, I don't want to leave this country. It's another question whether if I'd been able to make a choice before my birth; then I would have preferred to be born in another country.

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY

COLE: What is life like for a dissident like yourself inside an insane asylum?

BUKOVSKY: Imagine to yourself a prison—an old prison, which was a prison even before the Revolution—in which there are something like a thousand prisoners, more than half of them murderers, people who've committed serious crimes at a time when they were out of their minds; people



CBS Photos from the CBS News Special Report July 28

Pyotr Yakir has spent 13 years in concentration camps.

declared that a doctor in the hospital was no better than an executioner in a white smock. Such a remark would be sufficient to involve punishment.

Sulfazine is a pretty painful form of punishment. It causes your temperature to rise to about 40 degrees Centigrade, you feel you have a fever, can't get out of bed or move about, and it goes on for a day or two. If the treatment is repeated, then the effects can last a whole week or even 10 days.

A second form of punishment involves the use of the preparation aminozine, used in psychotherapy. It causes the patient to feel drowsy, sleepy. He may sleep several days on end, and if the treatment is given regularly, he may go on sleeping for as long as it is continued.

The third form of punishment we used to call the "roll-up." It involves the use of wet canvas, long pieces of it, in which the patient is rolled up from head to foot so tightly that it was difficult for him to breathe, and as the canvas began to dry out, it would get tighter and tighter and make the patient feel even worse.

But that punishment was applied with some caution. There were medical men present while it was taking place who made sure that the patient did not lose consciousness, and if his pulse

to get the sort of work I like doing if only because I am sufficiently well-known, or because in my identity card there is a mark which tells anyone that I've been in prison.

I am often asked about the prospects for change in this country, what we hope to get from our activity, how many supporters we have, and these are understandable, legitimate questions. But they are very difficult to answer. You have to understand, first of all, what's the essence of our struggle.

The essence of it is, in my view, the struggle against fear, the fear which has gripped the people since the time of Stalin, and thanks to which this system continues to exist, the system of dictatorship, of pressure, of oppression. It's into the struggle against fear that we put our greatest efforts, and in that struggle great importance attaches to personal example, the example which we give people.

I personally did what I considered right, spoke out on those occasions when I wanted to, and I'm alive, I am now sitting here and not in prison. I can get about, I can live. For me and for many people, that's very important; it shows that it's possible to fight, and that it is necessary to fight.

ALEXANDER GINZBURG

[illegible] to be arrested? So from that time on, there were protests.

And then there was the trial of Galanskov and Ginzburg, and that was the time of the greatest enthusiasm, because, first, a great many people protested against the fact that the trial was held illegally and behind closed doors. During the trial, the situation changed a great deal. Whereas during the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel it had been impossible to approach foreign correspondents—the vigilantes would take people straight off to the police — at the Moscow City Court we all discussed the affair with the correspondents. True, they wouldn't let us in anywhere, but a certain contact was established, and everything we learned we passed on immediately to the correspondents.

The trial ended, and against it there were a great many protests. More than 2,000 people put their names to various letters of protest against conviction of people for their beliefs. About the same time, Larissa Daniel and Pavel Litvinov handed correspondents a protest against the trial and appealing to world public opinion. That was the first, major step, which was a breach with all previous traditions. Never before in Russia had there been a case of people appealing to the West with a protest against unlawfulness in our country.

This is a great stride forward compared with the fact that my country was heading for a catastrophe in the not too distant future, and I wrote about it on two occasions to the editors of Russian newspapers in Moscow, but I received the most unconvincing replies, and then I decided to find another way of gaining publicity for my views.

In the second place, since my book would appear abroad mainly, I set myself the objective of refuting those inaccurate ideas about my country which are widespread, mainly in the United States, that is, about the liberalization of the Soviet regime which is allegedly taking place. And third, I had the same reason as any author has who writes a book: Given that these ideas had come into my head, it was natural that I should want to write about them.

What is really happening in the Soviet regime, in my opinion, is not that it is getting more liberal but getting more senile. Liberalization would presuppose conscious reform, whereas in reality the regime is more and more losing control over the situation in the country.

From the point of view of the Americans, the Soviet regime exercises far greater control over its country than, say, the American country does over its. But for a totalitarian regime, the degree of control is already insufficient. As an example, I can cite the unusual popularity of Samizdat.

The factory workers are dissatisfied with their complete dependence on the factory managements.

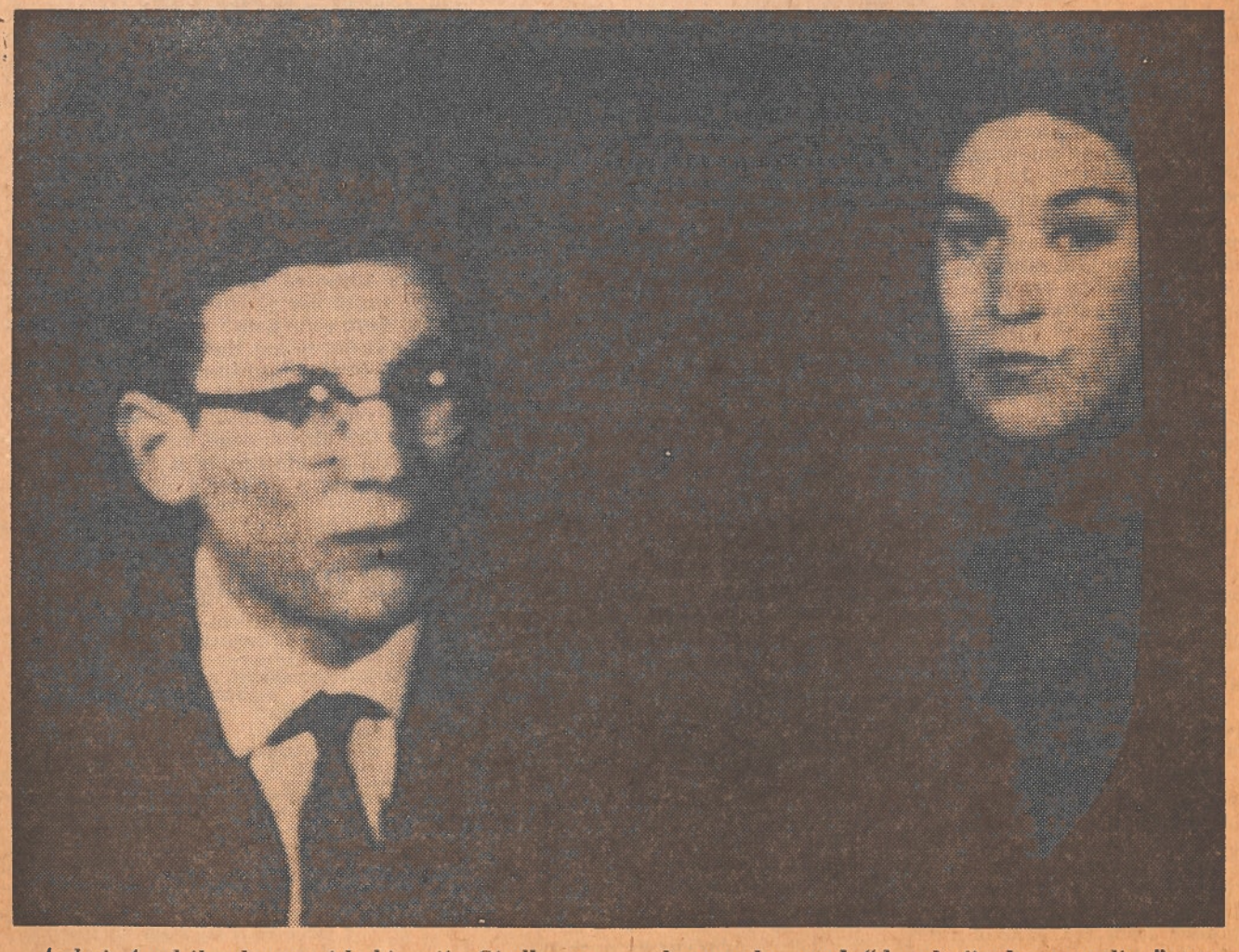
People living in small towns are dissatisfied because they don't have the right to move to bigger towns when there's no work in the small ones. And gradually some people begin to have the idea that all of these local, smaller problems have their origins in the imperfections of the political system under which we live.

What may lead to a revolution is the utter lack of good sense in the upper class, which is trying to avoid any change and to prevent society from having any mobility; which is always striving to preserve and make permanent the breakup of our society into tightly closed castes.

COLE: Mr. Amalrik, the United States is pictured to Russians as a land where everyone's starving, where there's no freedom, and as the enemy. Why is this?

AMALRIK: If the regime is to make itself look attractive in the eyes of its own people, it must constantly depict in the most repulsive light all other countries, especially the economically advanced ones. And it has to be said that for a considerable time now, this method has been effective.

For example, I have had occasion to hear Russian farm workers saying something like this: "Oh, well, life's



Andrei Amalrik, shown with his wife Giselle, an artist who has never exhibited in the Soviet Union because her work "doesn't fit the party line," was arrested by the KGB a few weeks ago.

inal from the point of view of the law.

In order to isolate them, to punish them in some way, such people are declared to be insane and are detained as patients in these mental prison hospitals. Some time passed before I understood this and before I got to know my fellow prisoners.

I believe this is the usual fate for a person who wishes to be himself, who wants to say what he thinks, to act in accordance with his convictions and his ideas. Many people, hundreds of people, have been declared insane and committed to various hospitals, mainly special ones like those in Kazan, Leningrad, Chernikovsk, Sechyovka and so forth.

It's very much more difficult to get out of that place than it is to get into it. First, in order to get out, you must declare officially to the doctors that you admit that you are sick—"Yes, I'm ill, I didn't know what I was doing." And the second condition is to admit you were wrong, to disavow what you did. I know of several cases of people who refused to say that they had done wrong and spent many long years in the hospital.

Nikolia Samsonov, for example, a geophysicist from Leningrad, was kept there simply because he refused to admit he was a sick man. Another of my friends in the madhouse was a French Communist of Romanian origin who had lived for more than 10 years in Marseilles and who came to the Soviet Union to see what communism was like in practice. He went to work in a footwear factory in Moldavia, and worked there for a long time. But he was displeased that the workers there received such low wages.

He told his workmates that they ought to fight for better pay. They went on strike. He was arrested and declared insane. In the hospital, he just couldn't understand what had happened to him, how Communists could do such things. For him, communism and the struggle for a better life were more or less the same thing. He just couldn't understand, and toward the end of his stay he really began to go out of his mind, it seems to me, because he was telling everybody that the Soviet government was under the influence of the Vatican.

The hospital regime was similar to any prison regime: an hour's exercise a day, locked cells, outside visitors once a month, one letter a month to relatives, one parcel a month, exactly the same as in a prison. The doctors themselves realized that it was not a hospital but a prison, and sometimes they said so openly. If a patient misbehaved, he could be punished.

It was very easy to get into trouble, and the punishments were very severe. There are three kinds of punishment which are most commonly applied there. The first type is carried out by medical means.

I think people know about a preparation known as sulfazine, which was used if one of the prisoners gave a doctor a rude answer to some question or cheerful or, on the contrary, miserable, show dissatisfaction or be too calm—any deviation which might appear suspicious to the psychiatrists—to give them grounds for believing that he was ill; that would be sufficient for them to start using those treatments.

I was released from the camp in January, but I did not change my opinions and I did not give up my activity. Therefore I can be arrested at any moment, when I meet foreign correspondents, when I am distributing written material forbidden in the Soviet Union, and in other circumstances. It doesn't matter what excuse the authorities find for arresting me. There's a saying in the camps: So long as they've got the man, they'll always find the law to fix him.

Of course, I know I am being followed, my telephone is always tapped, I feel that I am constantly under observation by the authorities. When I have to do something that I don't want the authorities to know about, I manage to get away from them. But it's pretty difficult in general. I am unable

A drawing of Alexander Ginzburg, imprisoned in Russia's far north since 1967, who spoke from his labor camp via a tape recording.

the prisoners, the rights of man are violated, thousands of people are deprived of their freedom and everyone goes in danger of his life.

I have just accompanied on his last journey my friend Jan Matusha. Three months ago, the Estonian Ans Frants died.

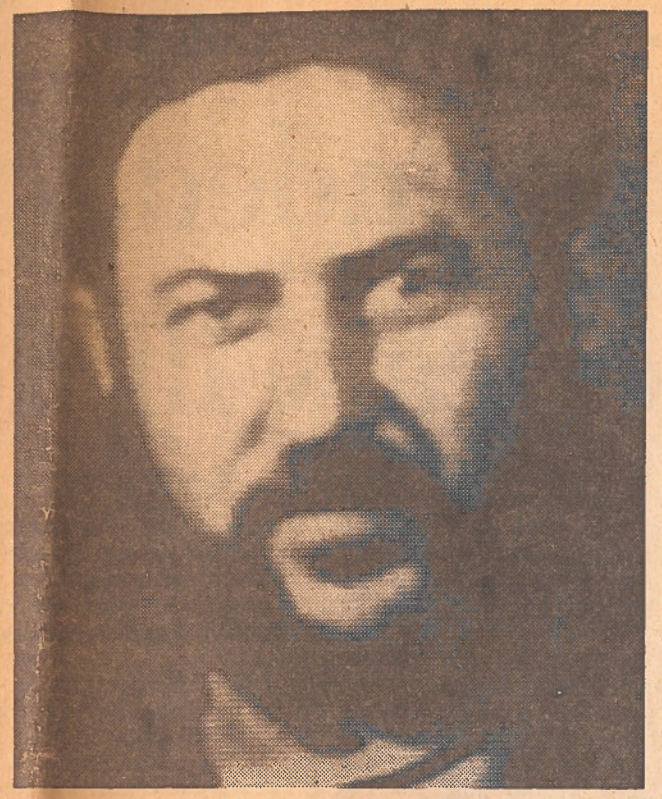
For six months now have been languishing in the Vladimir prison—that living grave—my friends Yuri Daniel and Valeri Ronkin. Several dozen of our friends were arrested in Moscow recently. Camps, prisons and the death of those near to us—that is what we are surrounded by, and nevertheless we hope to hold out.

We are sustained not by the so-called decisive stand of the Soviet Union, nor by the goodwill of the governments of the great powers, but by the wrath, protest and solidarity of all honest people, of all who hold dear the dignity of man, democracy and peace. In decisive resistance to modern barbarism I see the only real guarantee that the rights of man will be observed, here and throughout the world.

'We are all being arrested—those who took part in the democratic movement . . . because it doesn't suit the authorities to have people going about who criticize them. But there's no going back. If we're not here there'll be others . . . and no independent thinking people in the Soviet Union will go back to what used to be. They'll beat us and they'll kill us. All the same people will go on thinking differently.'

PYOTR YAKIR, member of the Russian underground, in a television interview filmed in Russia.

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY was sent to an insane asylum because he was found to possess a copy of the anti-Communist "The New Class."



PYOTR YAKIR, a dedicated Communist, seeks change from within. Already he's spent 13 years in concentration camps.

ANDRE AMALRIK sees the Soviet regime as getting more liberal but senile rather than liberal. A review of Amalrik's newest book is on today's Book Page.

They spoke, knowing prison---or worse---awaited them

U.S. hears rare voices of Soviet dissent

(In the following transcript, taken from a CBS News television broadcast on July 28, three Russian citizens describe the vicious repression with which the Soviet government meets even the mildest forms of dissent by its citizens. The conversations took place in Russia, and the three men spoke at great personal risk to themselves as the broadcast was sure to be seen by Soviet officials in this country. CBS newsmen participating are William Cole and Harry Reasoner. Cole, who was chief of the CBS Moscow bureau when he filmed the interviews, was subsequently expelled from the Soviet Union.)

REASONER: How did you get these films?

COLE: I got to know the Russians in these films,and they wanted these films made, to let the outside world know what's happening in that country.

REASONER: Who are they? What is it? [illegible] a large group of revolu- [illegible] hind closed doors. During the trial the situation changed a great deal. Whereas during the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel it had been impossible to approach foreign correspondents — the vigilantes would take people straight off to the police — at the Moscow City Court we all discussed the affair with the correspondents. True, they wouldn't let us in anywhere, but a certain contact was established, and everything we learned we passed on immediately to the correspondents. The trial ended, and against it there were a great many protests. More than 2000 people put their names to various letters of protest against conviction of people for their beliefs. Sometime — about the same time, during the trial, Larissa Daniel and Pavel Litvinov handed correspondents a protest against the trial and appealing to world public opinion. That was the first, major step, which was a breach with all previous traditions. Never before in Russia had there been a case of people appealing to the West with a pro- [illegible] lawfulness in our [illegible] that we'll notice, and also there's a lady in the film.

COLE: That's his wife, Giselle. She's a charming girl, and a painter. She's never been allowed to exhibit in her own country, because her art is not—doesn't fit the party line.

COLE: Mr. Amalrik, why did you decide to write this book called "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?"

MORE SENILE

AMALRIK: I think there were three main reasons why I decided to write that book and try and get it published. The first was my concern for the fate of my country. It was, alas, some years ago that I started to be concerned that my country was heading for a catastrophe in the not too distant future, and I wrote about it on two occasions to the editors of Russian newspapers in Moscow, but I received the most unconvincing replies, and then I decided to find another way of gaining publicity for problems have their origins in the imperfections of the political system under which we live.

What may lead to a revolution is the utter lack of good sense in the upper class which is trying to avoid any change and to prevent society from having any mobility, which is always striving to preserve and make permanent the breakup of our society into tightly closed castes.

COLE: Mr. Amalrik, the United States is vilified every day in the Soviet press, on Soviet television, and on radio there. America is pictured to Russians as a land where everyone's starving, where there's no freedom, and as the enemy. Why is this?

AMALRIK: If the regime is to make itself look attractive in the eyes of its own people, it must constantly depict in the most repulsive light all other countries, especially the economically advanced ones. And it has to be said that for a considerable time now, this approach, this method, has been effective. For example, I have had occasion to hear Russian farm workers saying something like this:

COLE: Well, by that time the secret police knew that I was filming, and I was under close surveillance, as Bukovsky is right now, as he's been since last January, when he got out of his last stretch of prison. So we found a secluded wood outside Moscow, screened in by — by brush, and we filmed there.

COLE: What is life like for a dissident like yourself inside an insane asylum?

Imagine to yourself a prison — an old prison, which was a prison even before the Revolution — in which there are something like a thousand prisoners, more than half of them murderers, people who've committed serious crimes at a time when they were out of their minds, people who are genuinely sick, and the remainder who are political prisoners, dissidents, for whom no article could be found in the criminal code, whom they could find no other way of treating but in such a place.

The fact is that the inmates, the patients in that hospital, the prisoners, are people who have done such they said so openly. If a patient misbehaved, he could be punished.

COLE: How are dissidents treated in an insane asylum?

BUKOVSKY: It was very easy to get into trouble in that hospital, and the punishments were very severe. There are three kinds of punishment which are most commonly applied there. The first type is carried out by medical means. I think people know about a preparation known as Sulfazine, which is used if one of the patients, one of the prisoners in the hospital committed some offense, gave a doctor a rude answer to some question or declared that a doctor in the hospital was no better than an executioner in a white smock. Such a remark would be sufficient to involve punishment. Sulfazine is a pretty painful form of punishment. It causes your temperature to rise to about 40 degrees Centigrade, you feel you have a fever, can't get out of bed or move about, and it goes on for a day or two. If the treatment is repeated, then the effect can last a whole week or— even ten days.

COLE: Not at all. They're not revolutionaries at all! They're good—they're good Russians, but they want change. They are members of what you — what they call the democratic movement, a movement fighting for basic human rights, civil liberties in the Soviet Union.

REASONER: How do they keep in touch with each other in a state like Russia?

COLE: They have an underground press, which they call Samizdat. They have a newspaper, for example, called the Chronicles. I've got an example of it here. It's not a newspaper, actually; it's a typed letter, and it circulates in the thousands. One man gets a copy of it, and he types four more copies and gives them to his friends. Of course it's illegal, and it's dangerous to be caught with it.

REASONER: Who are we going to see and hear?

COLE: Well, the first man you'll see is Pyotr Yakir. He's 48 years old and a dedicated Communist. He wants change from within. He has spent 13 years in concentration camps, and he is what you might call the non-titular head of the democratic movement. He was put into a camp the first time when he was 14, because he was his father's son. His father was General Jan Yakri, a very celebrated general of the Soviet Army. Stalin decided that Yakir should be shot. He was taken out of bed one night and shot.

CLOSED TRIAL

YAKIR: The most important turning point in the way people are thinking was when Daniel and Sinyavsky were arrested. Many educated people thought Daniel and Sinyavsky had done wrong by sending their writings abroad, and following their trial and after Samizdat—Samizdat refers to the system by which people simply reproduce and pass from hand to hand various writings — published the first speeches of Daniel and Sinyavsky, there came about a striking change, because both Sinyavsky and Daniel spoke about what they thought. They had written down what they believed, and didn't consider themselves guilty. And many people began to think: really, why should people be tried for their convictions? Why, simply for what he thinks, does a man have to be arrested? It was very similar to Stalin times, when people were sent to prison not even for what they thought, but for what they were thought to believe, and had not said to anybody, but it had somehow been proved that they were dissenters. So from that time on there were protests.

And then there was the trial of Galanskov and Ginzburg, and that was the time of the greatest enthusiasm, because firstly a great many people protested against the fact that the trial was held illegally and behind closed doors, and secondly because it was a political trial. Many people thought that it was a shame that people should be tried for their convictions in the twentieth century in a country.

NO GOING BACK

This is a great stride forward compared with Stalinism. Under Stalin there was always an iron curtain, and no one knew what was going on here. Millions of people were destroyed and nobody knew about it. Now we're trying to publicize every arrest, every dismissal. This we consider our main function — that is, informing people about what is going on and those illegal acts. We consider this the main task of the day.

Here is what I think. We are all being arrested — those who took part in the democratic movement — but that's not the point. We are apparently being arrested because it doesn't suit the authorities to have people about who criticize them. But there's no going back. If we're not here there will be others; there are already many of us, many young people, and no independent thinking in the Soviet Union will go back to what used to be. They'll beat us and they'll kill us. All the same people will go on thinking differently.

REASONER: Bill, Yakir said, "They will beat us and they will kill us." Has anything happened to these men?

COLE: Yes, Harry. The man you are about to see next was picked up by the KGV, the secret police, only a few weeks ago. He's now in prison awaiting trial. His name is Andre Amalrik. He's a 31-year-old historian and writer who's been published all over the world, never in his own country, and he's just published an amazing book, called "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?" This is an amazing book because it was written in Russia. Other writers — other Russian writers have written such books criticizing the system and telling exactly — telling about it as it is, but mostly from abroad, in safe places, but Andre has been awaiting arrest, and — and now it's happened.

REASONER: You had some trouble getting part of the film of this interview out of Russia, didn't you?

COLE: Yes, I had a great deal. I had Andre on film, and I tried to take it out not long ago, and I was searched very thoroughly in customs. The film was seized and developed. I've heard in Moscow that it's going to be used at his trial.

REASONER: Will we hear about that trial?

COLE: I'm beginning to wonder. The secret police have a new trick now. They don't have trials in Moscow. Andre was not taken back to Moscow, where he lives, but he was taken down to a provincial city, Sverdlovsk, and we may never hear what happens to him.

REASONER: Now, the fact that you had to re-shoot this interview will account for the change of scene as I understand it, my book would appear abroad mainly, and would be distributed principally there, I set myself the objective of refuting those current and inaccurate ideas about my country which are widespread, mainly in the United States, that is, about the liberalization of the Soviet regime which is allegedly taking place. And thirdly, I had the same reason as any author has who writes a book: given that these ideas had come into my head, it was natural that I should want to write about them.

What is really happening in the Soviet regime, in my opinion, is not that it is getting more liberal but getting more senile. Liberalization would presuppose conscious reform, whereas in reality the regime is more and more losing control over the situation in the country. From the point of view of the Americans the Soviet regime exercises far greater control over its country than, say, the American country does over its. But for a totalitarian regime the degree of control is already insufficient. Well, as an example I can cite the unusual popularity of Samizdat. That's the distribution in typewritten form of uncensored writings. This doesn't happen because the regime takes a liberal view of such things or deliberately permits it, but simply because the regime can't do anything about this problem, mainly because there's been an extraordinary increase in the number of people with education, and in the importance of the role played by educated people in modern society, and this intelligentsia can no longer and will no longer be satisfied with the miserable official writings which are offered.

COLE: What do ordinary people think of this regime?

AMALRIK: I have had a lot to do with factory workers and farm workers, and it seems to me that they haven't really begun to think over the nature of this system at all — it seems to them it's always been like this and it always will be. But at the same time there's evidence of very deep dissatisfaction with particular aspects of the regime, and, well, this can assume the most varied forms. Some are dissatisfied because they receive extremely little money by comparison with others, so they don't have enough to live on. Others are dissatisfied because they can't buy anything for the relatively high wages they earn. The farm workers are dissatisfied with their lack of civil rights, in that they cannot leave the villages. The factory workers are dissatisfied with their complete dependence on the factory managements. People living in small towns are dissatisfied because they can't — they don't have the right to move to bigger towns when there's no work in the small ones. And gradually some people, at all events, begin to have the idea that all these local, smaller we are at least able to eat potatoes every day, and sometimes they bring us some kerosine. But how on earth do people live in the capitalist countries? There's probably nothing at all to eat there.

TERRIBLE FATE

COLE: Is it true that opponents of the regime here are put into mental hospitals to get rid of them?

AMALRIK: Yes, it's true. I think it's the most disgusting thing that this regime does. At the same time, it seems to me this is a clear indication of the complete ideological capitulation of the regime in the face of its opponents, if the regime can't find anything else to do with them but to declare them to be out of their minds. I am well acquainted with a number of people who have been put into psychiatric hospitals and certified as being not responsible for their actions. There's General Grigorenko, then there's Ivan Yakhimovich. The same fate now threatens Natalia Gorbansvaskaya. And I want to say that these are perfectly normal, clear-thinking people, and they have been meted out a terrible fate.

But I consider that no system of rule by force can exist without people who are ready to submit to that rule. And if we don't want the rule of force to prevail, we must all fight against it, and not just say the regime is bad, that we have to suffer, and so forth. It is a bad system, but that doesn't absolve us of blame for its being bad.

COLE: You seem rather dissatisfied. Would you like to leave the Soviet Union?

AMALRIK: I'm dissatisfied with this political system, but this is the country in which I was born, and I hope that in due course everything will change.

REASONER: Andre Amalrik, the author, the second of the three Russians that we're watching tonight, spoke of the use of mental hospitals as a kind of a prison for dissenters. We've heard about that in this country. Is it fairly common?

COLE: It's widespread in the Soviet Union, and actually, the man you're about to see is a man who knows insane asylums very well. He's a young dissident, 27 years old. He spent six of those 27 years in insane asylums, prisons, concentration camps. His name is Vladimir Bukovsky.

REASONER: What was his offense?

COLE: Well, his crimes were poetry reading. The first time he was sent to an insane asylum was because he was found to possess a book, an anti-Communist book written by a well-known Communist of the time, a book called "The New Class" by the Yugoslav, Milovan Djilas.

REASONER: You interviewed him outdoors. Why, Bill?

of the authorities are crimes, but which are not criminal from the point of view of the law. And in order in some way to isolate them, to punish them in some way, such people are declared to be insane and are detained as patients in these mental prison hospitals. Some time passed before I understood this and before I got to know my fellow prisoners. I believe this is the usual fate for a person who wishes to be himself, who wants to say what he thinks, to act in accordance with his convictions and his ideas. Events of recent years confirm my supposition. Many people, tens, hundreds of people, have been declared insane and committed to various hospitals, mainly special ones, like those in Kazan, Leningrad, Chernigov, Sechotka, and so forth.

PRISON HOSPITALS

It's very much more difficult to get out of that place than it is to get into it. Firstly, in order to get out you must declare openly and officially to the doctors that you admit that you are sick — "Yes, I was — I'm ill, I didn't know that I was doing." And the second condition is to admit that you were wrong, to disavow what you did. I know of several cases of people who refused to say that they had done wrong and spent many long years in the hospital.

Nikolai Samsonov, for example, a geophysicist from Leningrad, who was kept there simply because he refused to admit he was a sick man. Another of my friends in the madhouse was, for example, a French Communist of Rumanian origin who had lived for more than ten years in Marseille and who came to the Soviet Union to learn, to see what communism was like in practice. He went to work in a foot wear factory in Moldavia and worked there for a long time. But he was displeased that the workers there received such low wages. He told his workmates that they ought to fight for better pay. They went on strike. He was arrested and declared insane. In the hospital he just couldn't understand what had happened to him, how Communists could do such things. For him, communism and the struggle for a better life were more or less the same thing.

I had a lot of friends there and their fate, all their cases, were proof for me that the people who landed up in that hospital were those who had done things for which they couldn't be brought to court, who had committed no offenses, and the hospital was simply a means of getting rid of them, of putting them out of sight. The hospital regime was similar to any prison regime. An hour's exercise a day, locked cells, outside visitors once a month, one letter a month to relatives, one parcel a month, exactly the same as in a prison. The doctors themselves realized that it was not a hospital but a prison, and sometimes

CANVAS ROLL-UP

A second form of punishment involves the use of the preparation Aminozine, used in psychotherapy, also known, probably, in other countries. It causes the patient to feel drowsy, sleepy. He may sleep several days on end, and if the treatment is given regularly he may go on sleeping for as long as it is continued. The third form of punishment we used to call the "roll-up." It involved the use of wet canvas, long pieces of it, in which the patient is rolled up from head to foot so tightly that it was difficult for him to breathe, and as the canvas began to dry out it would get tighter and tighter and make the patient feel even worse. But that punishment was applied with some caution. There were medical men present while it was taking place who made sure that the patient did not lose consciousness, and if his pulse began to weaken then the canvas would be released.

BUKOVSKY: I was released from the camp in January, 1970, but I did not change my opinions, and I did not give up my activity. I continue to do what I was doing before, and therefore it's possible that I shall be arrested any day. I can be arrested at any moment, when I meet foreign correspondents, when I am distributing written material forbidden in the Soviet Union, and in other circumstances. It doesn't matter what excuse the authorities find for arresting me. The reason is unimportant for them. There's a saying in the camps: so long as they've got the man, they'll always find the law to fix him.

I am sufficiently well known, or because in my identity card there is a mark which tells anyone that I've been in prison.

I am often asked about the prospects for change in this country, what we hope to get from our activity, how many supporters we have, and these are understandable, legitimate questions. But they are very difficult to answer. You have to understand first of all what's the esssence of our struggle. The essence of it is, in my view, the struggle against fear, the fear which has gripped the people since the time of Stalin, which has still not left people, and thanks to which this system continues to exist, the system of dictatorship of pressure, of oppression. It's into the struggle against fear that we put our greatest efforts, and in that struggle great importance attaches to personal example, the example which we give people. I personally did what I considered right, spoke out on those occasions when I wanted to, and I'm alive, I am now sitting here and not in prison. I'm alive, I can get about, I can live. For me and for many people that's very important — it shows that it's possible to fight, and that it is necessary to fight.